

Opponents of the welfare state will likewise find failures described in ample detail. The Social Security Board merits criticism for its inadequate leadership, and the authors reveal much incompetency and "guerrilla warfare among certain of the top staff" (p. 476). Jealous politicians also drained effectiveness from the program as they competed for new monies and patronage that were as much an "aid to the elected" as to the intended recipients (p. 165). Many of these revelations are predictable, but the authors put new shadings on old portraits, such as the unflattering portrayals of Senator Carter Glass and Social Security Coordinator Henry Seidemann.

Its valuable observations accepted, an unevenness in premise and style weakens the book, particularly its disquieting chronological inconsistency. McKinley and Frase completed their research in 1937, wrote the manuscript in 1941, and gave very tentative conclusions at that date because "only the future would tell" whether the Social Security experiment would succeed (p. 492). Apparently they did not update these outdated conclusions before publication in 1970; yet they did revise the introductory and less important sections of the book with material published as late as 1963. Equally disquieting are excessively long quotations from administrative documents and lengthy expository footnotes which frequently contain richer information than the text. Taken as a whole, however, the authors have captured and recorded a portion of the New Deal worth preserving.

Indiana University East, Richmond

George T. Blakey

Frontier Governor: Samuel J. Crawford of Kansas. By Mark A. Plummer. (Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas, 1971. Pp. xiii, 210. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$7.75.)

This is a political biography of Samuel J. Crawford, a native of Indiana, who migrated to Kansas in 1859 where he was elected to the state legislature in the same year. When the Civil War erupted, he resigned this position to command a black regiment in the Union Army. After the war he served two terms (1864-1871) as governor of Kansas, encouraging immigration and reflecting public opinion by supporting radical reconstruction. While advocating white control of Indian lands, Crawford defended the interests of settlers and opposed the efforts of speculators to monopolize the land for railroad construction. Nevertheless, he apparently received a section of land from the Union Pacific Railroad, ostensibly for his aid in securing government approval of this railroad's track in Kansas. During his

second term Crawford unsuccessfully supported suffrage for blacks and women in Kansas. In 1872 he backed the Liberal Republican party but followed the Greenback standard in 1876. He returned to the Republican party for the final phase of his public career as a claims agent for Kansas in Washington from 1877 to 1891. During the rise of Populism he favored an expansive monetary policy but believed the deprivations of the farmers were overstated by Populist leaders. The Spanish-American War, imperialism, territorial expansion, the tariff, and the trusts turned him against the Republican party and resulted in his support for Bryan and the Democrats in 1900.

The author has "tried to use the story of Crawford's political career as a means to throw some light on the 'dark ages' of Kansas history, that is, the period between the much publicized 'Bleeding Kansas' territorial years and the Populist era" (p. xii). Although the title indicates the main task is biography, the man Crawford is lost in Kansas history. Kansas politics and Civil War military activity dominate the opening chapters while Crawford's formative years are ignored. Perhaps due to missing sources, Plummer says nothing about Crawford's youth, his relationship with his parents, or early experiences that were important to his development. Thus, an important segment of his life is passed by, and that feeling for a man that biography should provide is missing. The coverage of Crawford's response to the rise of the Populist party and his gradual disillusionment with the Republican party is too brief. Certainly the election of 1896 merits more than one sentence, and his switch to the Democrats in 1900 warrants more than a few paragraphs. Although he did not die until 1913, lack of sources has apparently hidden his position with regard to the reforms of the early 1900s.

The book is well written and organized although too much correspondence is reprinted. The reader gets a good sense of the faction ridden and sometimes corrupt party politics of the period. The section on railroads and speculators outlines a classic case of the pressures to expropriate Indian land. Typical western attitudes come to the fore in the chapter "Crawford and the Indian Problem." He favored Indian removal because "the Indians will neither improve nor cultivate the lands, and their occupancy prevents others from doing it" (p. 85). Crawford believed Indian management should be transferred from the Interior Department to the War Department because he had little faith in the agents of the Department of the Interior or the peace policy adopted in 1867. It seems clear that there are gaps in the record left by Crawford. If so, the author should have stated so in his preface.